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THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1917

Six-Months Prisoner of the Administration

ROSE WINSLOW—SUFFRAGIST, POET, LABOR LEADER

National Woman's Party

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OBJECT: TO SECURE AN AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION ENFRANCHISING WOMEN

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Notes of the Week

Methods of Autocracy

"IT seems to me that we are going just the way of Germany. We say we are fighting for democracy, but suppression of constitutional rights is not democratic. I dislike to see German methods here, and we cannot pretend that we are superior to Germany if we countenance the methods of autocracy."

This criticism of the recent up-swelling of autocracy in the United States comes from Professor James Harvey Robinson, one of the best known of the Columbia University faculty. Referring to the resignation of Charles Beard from Columbia as a protest against the violation of the Constitution of the United States in the widespread suppression of free speech, free press and freedom of petition, Robinson says: "It has devolved on a few of us to try to uph ld our rights under the Constitution."

One of the boldest evidences of autocracy which the Government, undemocratic enough to deny the franchise to women, has been capable of, is lawless treatment of women peacefully petitioning for redress of political grievances. Suffragists can say with Professor Robinson and Professor Beard: "It has devolved on a few of us to uphold our rights."

Labor Supply the Next Government Problem

SECRETARY OF WAR BAKER, asked last week the likelihood of a labor conscription act in the next session of Congress, said that the matter was not in shape to permit discussion of what the attitude of the Government will be. The Government acknowledges, however, that the inadequate labor supply is becoming a problem and that all branches of the Government are considering the situation in view of making a plan to deal with the serious shortage of workers in agriculture and the great manufacturing industries.

"Administration members," says a special dispatch to the Philadelphia *North American*, "are placing great reliance upon the ability of women to make up a great deal of this labor shortage. All the information obtainable from the British labor commission respecting the adaptability of women for varied forms of employment and the success which has attended their employment in Great Britain has been placed in possession of this Government in documentary form."

Women are to do the work, buy the bonds, save the food, and spend their leisure hours in knitting for the soldiers. Their suggestion that the Government might at least do them the simple justice of putting them squarely on their feet in the world to do this share of its work is still met by the unsquare opposition of this Administration to the federal amendment.

Wages

THE District of Columbia needs more policewomen for its rush of business, the Washington *Times* reports this week, and the District Commissioners will ask Congress for them. Also the two present policewomen are to have their wages raised. One of them is specially commended for her part in the arrests of women suffragists. "Her work is of a public nature and she has a record of arrests equal to that of any man on the force," reports the *Times*.

The District of Columbia should indeed find it necessary to raise the wages of women it calls upon to help in lawless maltreatment of suffragists standing for democracy for women—and in the regular administering of its barbarous police court and prison system.

Another Religious Body Endorses Suffrage

THE Congregational Church, when its national council was in session last week in Columbus, Ohio, passed by a large majority a resolution urging the need of woman suffrage at this time in the United States. The question was forced for decision by members of the council, in spite of objections that a church has nothing to do with suffrage, and brought out the spirited debate a live issue always rouses.

In this action the Congregational Church has followed the example of the Presbyterian Church and the Council of Reform Rabbis, who have gone on record for suffrage in the last months.

Red Cross Fever

PENNSYLVANIA women on October 15 held a civic conference in connection with the annual convention of the State Federation of Women's Clubs to discuss the danger the hysterical emphasis put upon Red Cross work by the press and the Government is bringing to the civic work that must be done by women.

"The work of the Red Cross has almost superseded civic work," said the state chairman. "The longer the war lasts the more civic work will be needed. Housing conditions are growing worse, slums are created in a night; and negro riots in Chester and Fifth Ward politics in Philadelphia show the great need of civic betterment.

"We are spending much for the entertainment of our boys in khaki. Why not redouble your efforts to help the girls in industry who are answering the last call to the colors?"

This recovery from war fever, this growth of a right sense of proportion is spreading. More and more women are getting over the conviction that they have done their civic duty when they have given a few hours to collecting for a soldiers' book or tobacco fund, subscribed to Belgian relief, solicited buyers for a war bond, or knitted a scarf for a sailor. And they are knowing more and more surely that they cannot play their citizen's part without the responsibility of citizenship.

The Greatest Issue

MORRIS HILLQUIT, Socialist candidate for mayor of New York City, has sent an open letter to the three other candidates for the office, asking them to make a special appeal to their supporters to vote for suffrage in the State referendum campaign. He says:

"If each of us will make a special and earnest appeal to his supporters to vote for woman suffrage the measure will carry and we shall be instrumental in righting an age-long wrong. Knowing the great importance of the direct and indirect issues involved in the city campaign, I assert that the issue of woman suffrage overshadows them all as a permanent measure of social justice and progress."

This direct stand for suffrage in New York now just before the vote on the question comes in November, is another sign of the new attitude politicians take toward suffrage. It is not depreciating the courage and sincerity of Mr. Hillquit to see that he is able to make such a proposal to the New York candidates with hope of success because the fight for the federal amendment fought by the National Woman's Party has made suffrage everywhere a practical political issue. It will be interesting to see what answer the men of the other parties make to this plain challenge from a candidate to whom suffrage is more than the political football it has too often been in state and national politics.

Taking the Right Side

SPEAKING in New York City at a suffrage mass meeting at Cooper Union this week, Rabbi Stephen Wise explained that one of the chief reasons he is for suffrage is because Elihu Root is against it.

He took a further direct stand on the side of democracy by saying: "America cannot honestly say it is fighting for democracy if it refuses to grant the vote to its women."

Direct Action

WOMEN voters in Russia, in a certain town, recently asked that $500,000 be voted to provide a pension of twenty rubles a month for the wives of soldiers. The mayor offered to "consider" the question and adjourned the meeting. The women knew what the mayor meant by "consider." They surged forward, kept the mayor in his seat, sent out other women to bring back the city council, and demanded immediate action. At once the $500,000 was voted.

Russian women perhaps deserve the enfranchisement that has come to them with the revolution more than other women deserve it, because of this spirit of fearless activity in the affairs of the world that distinguishes them in every field, in social questions, in politics, and even in war.

Pickets Get Maximum Sentence from Administration

IF you are drunk and disorderly, the police court of the District of Columbia will sentence you to fifteen days. If you are a prostitute you may get thirty days. But if you petition the Government for political liberty you will spend six months in the District workhouse. This is the present logic of the Administration, which, through President Wilson's police court appointees, is trying to "stop picketing" and stop women's reminding the country of our embarrassing lack of democracy at home while our men go to die for democracy abroad.

Rose Winslow, of New York, hurled ringing defiance to the court when she spoke for the last group of pickets, arrested Monday, October 15, at the gate of the White House, and tried in the police court, before Judge Mullowney, the following morning.

"We have seen officers of the law permit men to assault women, to destroy their banners, to enter their residence. How, then, can you ask us to have respect for the law? We thought that by dismissing the suffragists without sentence this court had finally decided to recognize our legal right to petition the Government. We shall continue to picket because it is our right. On the tenth of November there will be a long line of suffragists who will march to the White House gates to ask for political liberty. You can send us to jail, but you know that we have broken no law. You know that we have not even committed the technical offense on which we were arrested. You know that we are guiltless."

Assistant Corporation Attorney Hart, who has conducted all the cases against the suffrage pickets, demanded the maximum sentence. Without comment Judge Mullowney obliged him by giving the four suffragists before him the choice between a twenty-five-dollar fine or six months in the District workhouse. He also directed that the eleven suffragists, whom he found guilty but released without sentence October 6, be summoned at once for sentence. This may mean that Miss Alice Paul, national chairman of the Woman's Party, is to be sent to the workhouse until the middle of April.

THE charge on which Miss Maude Jamieson, of Norfolk, Virginia; Miss Minnie Hennessey, of Hartford, Connecticut; Miss Kate Heffelfinger, of Shamokin, Pennsylvania; and Miss Rose Winslow, of New York, whose parents brought her from Poland to be an American because of their yearning for political freedom, were arrested, tried and sentenced to spend six months in the District workhouse, was "obstruction of traffic," the charge the Government uses against the pickets. At four-thirty Monday afternoon they marched down Madison Place, carrying a banner inscribed "How long must women wait for liberty?" and the purple, white and gold tricolor of the Woman's Party. The authorities were totally unprepared. With Judge Mullowney the police force had taken it for granted that picketing was over, that women picketed to go to Occoquan, and that when they were not sent to Occoquan they would not bother to picket. It took almost ten minutes for the patrol wagon to be summoned and to appear. Meantime, the four pickets stood, two on each side of the gate, just as pickets stood unmolested for six months, their beautiful banners floating lazily under the yellow leaves, and the crowd of Government clerks streaming by from the day's work, glancing at the gay flags, or pausing a moment to see "what the cops will do to them this time."

One old, old lady paused to read the lettered banner. "How long must women wait for liberty?" she repeated, slowly, and then, with sudden tears in her eyes, she murmured, "How long, oh, Lord—how long?"

A small boy in short trousers shouted, "T'ree months at Occo'wan youse'll be waitin'."

"I don't see anything wrong in that," said a lady who stood, with a "Guide of Washington" in her hand, looking at the pickets with critical gaze, "I really can't see anything wrong in that. It's quite lovely."

The patrol clanged down the Avenue and stopped at the curb. The officers piled out, and without any trouble, with a few good-natured directions, pushed aside the small crowd.

Then an officer approached the pickets.

"Move on," he said, and in the same breath, without waiting for a reply, "I'll have to put you under arrest. You are under arrest," he announced.

Rose Winslow lifted the lettered banner high, high over her head, and marched down the sidewalk to the waiting patrol. She was a conqueror, not a prisoner. The crowd seemed to catch her spirit, and burst into sudden, spontaneous applause. The pickets were hustled into the Black Maria, their banners floating defiantly brave and gay from the door at which an officer stood guard.

THE four pickets last arrested will not immediately join the nineteen suffragists now at Occoquan. They were taken to the District jail after their sentence, according to the usual procedure, but friends who went out to see them late in the afternoon were informed that they would be kept there at least a week. They will not be allowed to see any visitors or to write any letters for a week. "Then we'll see," was the best that Warden Zinkham would promise.

Numbers of women have already volunteered for the picket line on November 10. A long line of women standing at the gates of the White House with their dramatic demand for "justice to women now" will be the answer of the Woman's Party to the loss of half a year that the Administration tools have taken from these four lives.

Investigation of Occoquan Workhouse

"RESOLVED, That a select committee of seven members of the House of Representatives be appointed by the Speaker to investigate the Administration of the District of Columbia workhouse at Occoquan, Virginia, to report thereon as early as possible during the second session of the Sixty-fifth Congress. Said committee is authorized to sit during the recess in Washington, District of Columbia, and elsewhere, to subpœna witnesses and to call for records relating to said workhouse."

This resolution to investigate Occoquan workhouse—the congressional investigation that alone can light up the Government prison where suffragists have been shut up for months to suffer treatment in many ways worse than that they would have suffered in the dungeons of old Russia—was introduced in the House by Jeannette Rankin, representative from Montana, in the closing days of the War Congress. Miss Rankin twice visited a friend imprisoned at the workhouse. Her move for a bona fide probe into Occoquan was the direct outcome of the Board of Charities' plain intent to clear, in a secret session, the prison regime of Superintendent Whittaker of the charges of "mismanagement, graft, sanitary depravity, indignity and brutality," made against it by Dudley Field Malone, Samuel G. Brent, and Judge J. K. N. Norton, counsel for a group of men and women who, as former officials or inmates of Occoquan, were ready to testify against the management.

The District Commissioners this week made public the report of the Board of Charities "investigation" on October 2, before which arbitrary, hidden court Mr. Malone refused to present his witnesses. And the report proves the wisdom of the National Woman's Party in turning from the proceedings as soon as their character of an arranged whitewash was shown up by the refusal of the investigators to admit the press or the public.

An introduction to the report explains at some length the star-chamber methods the Board of Charities found it convenient to use, and notes truly that the counsel making the charges withdrew from the investigation "to find another forum in which to tell the American people the vivid story of Occoquan workhouse." The "findings" of the board follow:

"FROM the date of the commitment of the first of the several groups of the National Woman's Party to Occoquan a spirit of insubordination, of mischievous agitation, and utter disregard of all rules and regulations has been exhibited by them.

"The application of the usual and ordinary rules governing the conduct of prisoners was resented, and a positive and continuous effort to stir up discontent and to lead and create insubordination was exhibited. In Mr. Whittaker's absence the Commissioners placed in charge of the institution Alonzo Tweedale, auditor of the District of Columbia, a man so well-known in the District that no statement of his abilities, his integrity and record for humane action need be given.

"Under his rule the seditious effort and conduct referred to increased with the increase in number of members of the National Woman's Party committed to Occoquan. His efforts to enforce rule and discipline were thwarted at every turn, and the climax of insubordination was reached on the third day of October, when one of the parties referred to was about to be removed from Occoquan for hospital treatment in Washington. Notwithstanding that this removal had been communicated to friends of the party and was approved by them, when she was notified that she was to go to the hospital in Washington, the other members of the National Woman's Party committed to Occoquan declared that she should not go, and brought on a riot, which was disgraceful in act, and came very near being serious in results.

"The officers and guards at Occoquan are worn out by overwork and inmates excited by the conduct of the members of the National Woman's Party, and this is seriously threatening the enforcement of discipline and endangering the usefulness of the institution. The parties who have by letter and otherwise informally brought to your attention matters of complaint have been, as above indicated, given opportunity to appear and testify and this opportunity has been declined. The conditions of unrest at Occoquan have become so inflammatory that no useful investigation depending, as it necessarily must depend, upon the evidence of those who are under stress of excitement and discontent could now be made, and under these circumstances the Board of Charities advises:

"That the investigation directed by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia be postponed until the conditions of unrest, excitement and disquiet at Occoquan have been overcome;

"That the order relieving W. H. Whittaker as superintendent, temporarily and without prejudice, be revoked, and Mr. Whittaker restored to his position as superintendent;

"That the members of the National Woman's Party now at Occoquan be informed that unless they obey the rules of the institution and discontinue their acts of insubordination and riot, they will be removed from Occoquan to the city jail and placed in solitary confinement."

When the Commissioners of the District gave this report to the press they made a statement to explain the farce the probe became under the directing hand of the Charities Board. They, too, apologize carefully for the underground inquiry into Mr. Malone's charges and make again the often-heard claim that Occoquan is a model prison in spite of the known facts of medieval conditions of food, punishment and sanitation.

"THE Commissioners have approved the recommendations of the Board of Charities after most careful consideration. They believe that if the complaints of unbearable conditions at Occoquan were made in good faith, that the complainants should have come forward with the testimony when given an opportunity by the Board of Charities.

"As a matter of fact, the District workhouse at Occoquan is an institution of which the Commissioners are proud, and which is a source of pride to every citizen of the Nation's Capital. It represents an advanced step in the development of penal institutions in the United States, and its pre-eminent position is generally recognized by competent authorities throughout the Union.

"It is an institution wherein cells and grated doors, and locks and stockades have been displaced by a system of dormitories and open treatment, for the purpose of emphasizing the reformatory character of the institution as distinct from its punitive character. It is most unfortunate that some prisoners lately have seen fit to abuse the greater freedom of action permitted in this modern institution under this advanced system of penal treatment.

"Discipline will be maintained at the Occoquan workhouse. Every complaint made by any prisoner, visitor, or other person, whether based upon knowledge of fact or credence of a rumor, will be investigated, and if any condition that should not exist is discovered to exist, it will be corrected.

"For the present, the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia is content to approve the recommendations of the Board of Charities."

The exoneration of Whittaker and his system in the Board of Charities report gets its significance only from a knowledge of the superintendent's past record. The power that gives him Occoquan and keeps him in place has exerted itself to make these new charges look like the first in a model career of prison management. An authoritative report upon his record, however, has been made to THE SUFFRAGIST by Julian Leavitt, writer on prison reform and recognized expert on the prison contract system.

"WHITTAKER got his first prison appointment, as warden of the Indiana State Reformatory, about 1905 or 1906, solely as reward of political activity, having been secretary of the Indiana State Republican committee and an integral part of the Republican machine for some years. The reformatory was then notorious as a contract sweat shop, and the labor people had been fighting for years to have the contract system abolished. A year or two later they succeeded in getting an act through the legislature, in spite of the opposition of the State Board of Charities and the prison people. Everybody suspected, of course, that this opposition was financed by the contractors, but there was no proof.

"As soon as the act became law Whittaker apparently accepted it in good faith and proceeded to convert his institution into what he called a modern trade school. He manipulated publicity very skillfully and got a fine reputation for himself and his institution by the very same methods that he has employed as head of Occoquan. And then, in 1908, or thereabouts, it was discovered that he had completely tricked the legislature, the governor, and the press in the matter of the contract system. He had not abolished it or even reduced it to any extent. He had merely taken off the old signs and put on new ones. The shirt contract shop he called the "Shirt Trade School!" The furniture contract shop he called the "Furniture Trade School," and so with all the other contract shops. The contractors were in complete control of the reformatory as before. The boys were sweated and punished as before; if anything the tasks had been increased and the punishments made more severe.

"This created a tremendous sensation in the State at the time, but the Republicans were then in control and Whittaker was able to stave off any investigation. Things ran on as before. But at Christmas time, 1909, it was discovered that Whittaker's wife had received a valuable diamond ring as a gift from the contractors. The newspapers began to ask questions again. By that time the Democrats had gained control, having put in Governor Marshall, now Vice-President of the United States. When the demand for an investigation became insistent Whittaker collapsed, resigned his job and left the State. Governor Marshall had the facts against him, but declared publicly that he would not persecute the poor devil who had broken down under fire.

"For six months nothing was heard of Whittaker. Then in 1910 he turned up as secretary of the Maryland Prisoners' Aid Society, which was then under the control of the contractors. The president of the organization was the personal attorney and cousin of the biggest prison contractor in Maryland. Here Whittaker was carefully groomed for the Occoquan job, which he landed through Republican influence."

Since his rule, charges of brutality and mismanagement have been brought against Occoquan several times. The Charities Board will admit only one other formal inquiry, in 1915, stubbornly refusing to answer questions as to facts that should be matters of public record.

A complacent Board of Charities has again refused to act against Whittaker. The Governor of Virginia, appealed to last week for an investigation by Mrs. Howard Gould, through Attorneys Scott and Buchanan, of Richmond, cannot take such a step because the Occoquan property is a federal reservation in that state.

The congressional investigation is pending.

The Suffragist

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THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced
In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.
In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating and Hayden.

Referred
In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.
In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported
Favorably, September 15, 1917.

Present Status
In the Senate
On the calendar awaiting a vote.
In the House
Before the Judiciary Committee.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted
In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced
January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee
In the Senate
1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

In the House
1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon
In the Senate
January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).
March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House
January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Administration's Hypocrisy

PRESIDENT WILSON has this week sought to appear the friend of suffrage by expressing interest in the success of the suffrage referendum in New York. He writes to a leader in the New York suffrage campaign:

"May I not express to you my very deep interest in the campaign in New York for the adoption of woman suffrage, and may I not say that I hope no voter will be influenced in his decision with regard to the great matter by anything the so-called pickets may have done here in Washington? However justly they may have laid themselves open to serious criticism, their action represents, I am sure, so small a fraction of the women of the country who are urging the adoption of woman suffrage that it would be most unfair and argue a narrow view to allow their actions to prejudice the cause itself. I am very anxious to see the great state of New York set a great example in this matter."

At the very time the President, recognizing the growing power of the suffrage movement, thus endeavors to obtain the reputation of friendliness to the cause, his Administration sentences to six months' imprisonment women who ask him to take action on suffrage at Washington.

It is difficult for women to feel any respect for a President who thus asks other people to vote for suffrage, while he himself delays its success in Congress—who, pretending to be the friend of human liberty, throws women into jail for daring to stand silently at his gates demanding it.

The President has urged the men of Tennessee, West Virginia, Maine and New York to enfranchise their women. In none of these cases has he any power to make his expression of good will effective. In Washington, where his will is supreme, he has been silent.

However much Mr. Wilson may attempt to becloud the situation by his seeming friendliness to suffrage in places where this friendliness means nothing, the Woman's Party will continue steadfastly to demand that the President secure action in Congress, where he is all powerful, instead of advising action in the states, where he is impotent. We will not falter because of the six months' sentence given the last group of protestants at the White House. The extreme steps which the Administration is taking to crush our protest is lighting the fire of rebellion among women all over the country. The campaign will go on with ever-increasing vigor until the Administration is forced to realize that the demand of American women for self-government is too deep to be satisfied by hollow professions of friendship not backed by action, and too deep to be stamped out by sentences of a half year in a Government workhouse.

Back from the Front

By Olivia Howard Dunbar Torrence

FIVE gallant pickets who were released from Occoquan last Saturday, October 13, were the guests of honor at a dinner held that evening at national headquarters and attended by one hundred and twenty-five manifestly whole-hearted believers in the pickets' cause.

This happened to be a particularly significant moment in the history of picketing. Everybody present was very much aware that a few days earlier the Occoquan "investigation" had collapsed and Superintendent Whittaker had been reinstated;—that the newspapers had published incredible reports of an Occoquan "riot" instigated by suffragist prisoners;—and that it had been officially announced that future suffragist prisoners would be treated with even greater severity than the former ones. Everybody knew, too, that at that very moment Lucy Burns and thirteen other pickets were still imprisoned in the workhouse, while seated among the diners at headquarters were Alice Paul and ten others who had been found guilty of picketing a few days earlier and were then under suspended sentences. Whatever reports the newly released pickets might bring were, therefore, awaited with peculiar eagerness.

All five women were weakened, physically, but it goes without saying that their spirits were entirely unsubdued. They told their stirring stories dispassionately and impersonally, though these were compact of poignant revelations.

WE heard of one ill and famished picket sharing with another her small cup of milk and smaller crust of bread. We heard of Lucy Burns, continually and almost gayly reinforcing the courage and energy of the most exhausted of her comrades, yet herself unable to sleep at night, because of the cries that reached her from the women in the punishment cells. We heard of negro women prisoners who were at that moment fighting the terrors of darkness, solitude and bread-and-water diet because they had innocently replied to requests from suffrage prisoners to know the time. And we heard of the young Russian girl who, after laboring under great handicaps to fit herself for self-support, received on the same day two telegrams—one from a suffrage organization in New York offering her precisely the position she had hoped for, that of a stenographer at a good salary, and the other from the headquarters of the National Woman's Party in Washington, inviting her—to picket! She made her choice without hesitation and was in consequence one of the fourteen pickets then in the workhouse.

MRS. RICHARD WAINRIGHT, of the National Advisory Council of the Woman's Party, and wife of Rear Admiral Wainright, was the capable toastmistress. She introduced the picket speakers as fighters.

"Somewhere in France tonight, men who have been serving at the front and who are weary and have spent everything that they have in the way of strength and spirit are being taken in squads away to the back, where they are given rest and refreshment that they may get the power to go to the front again. Tonight we have from our little army a squad who have come back from the front—the pickets who represent a wonderful fight for idealism. They should stir the blood of the most slothful."

The first speaker, Miss Katharine Fisher, an expert dietitian of New York, spoke for herself and her four sister-pickets—Miss Ruth Crocker, of Chicago; Miss Nina Samaradin, of Baltimore; Miss Anna Gwenter, of New York; and Mrs. Frederick Kendall, of Buffalo—when she said that their mere release from Occoquan gave them no sense of real freedom. They were not free to resume their entirely legal picketing, they were not in any sense free citizens of their country, theirs, in short, was only "freedom to submit."

THE hunger for freedom which brings about all woman's movements was tellingly voiced by the two young Russian women, Miss Samaradin and Miss Gwenter. Miss Samaradin came to this country three years ago "to learn democracy."

"When I used to hear about suffrage in the United States," she said, "I used to ask, 'Why do not the women vote in such a free country as the United States?' and the usual answer was, 'Because they do not want to vote.' After I came to this country I began to meet American women and speak to them and I found that they do want to vote, but the vote is not given to them. But still I did not take any part in the suffrage movement because I did not agree with certain things in it.

"The first time I took part was when the Woman's Party began to picket, because as a Russian I believe in direct action and I call this direct action. I do not believe in begging for a thing that belongs to me. I believe in taking a thing that belongs to me, and it seems to me that the women of the United States were begging for seventy years for the thing that belongs to them.

"If the American women would try hard enough they would win. It is hard to spend a month in Occoquan, but it is harder to go to Siberia. Yet going to Siberia did not stop us of the revolution in Russia."

MISS GWENTER, who was almost too ill from her prison experience to speak at all, nevertheless did speak briefly as a representative of the labor movement, saying that although she had always put her strength into the fight for labor, she was now going to concentrate on suffrage first.

The peculiarly close inter-relation at this time of war, of all idealistic movements, was expressed in a single phrase by tiny Miss Ruth Crocker, whom Mrs. Wainwright introduced as "one of the gnats,"—in allusion to the legend of the gnat who won a battle for its friends by entering the ear of the giant general of the hostile army. "It wasn't just suffrage that made me picket," Miss Crocker confessed. "It was—everything. It seemed as if everything was being taken away from everybody and that it was time for everybody to stand up for everything, and if it was the most I could do, the least I could do was to picket."

MRS. FREDERICK KENDALL, a newspaper women of Buffalo, New York, wife of one of the editors of the Buffalo *Express*, who during her thirty days' imprisonment gained first-hand knowledge of most of the terrors of Occoquan, gave the first authentic account of what the prison management has advertised as the "riot" at the workhouse ten days ago, when the prison authorities in the most high-handed manner carried off a suffrage prisoner to "a hospital," refusing to explain that she was to go to the jail hospital in town or to let her see a lawyer or the physician who had gone to Occoquan to examine her.

Mrs. Kendall and Miss Fotheringham, who insisted on nursing Mrs. Johns, since the workhouse gave her no care and her illness seemed to be appendicitis, twice requested to see Superintendent Tweedale in order that they might ask for their comrade the privilege of consulting her lawyer before being removed, she knew not where. Mr. Tweedale refused to see the two women. Mrs. Kendall further relates that Mrs. Johns, while being taken from the building, caught sight of her two friends and cried for help. They tried to rescue her, but were overpowered by matrons, guards, and other prisoners summoned for this purpose. Miss Fotheringham was cruelly ill-used, Mrs. Kendall testifies, so that she suffered afterward from concussion of the brain; and Mrs. Kendall herself, a woman of frail appearance, was so severely beaten that her shoulders and arms remained black and blue for days. This account constitutes, of course, the most serious charge that has yet been made against the Occoquan system.

BESIDES the prisoners, Miss Mary Ingham, of Philadelphia, chairman of the Pennsylvania branch of the Woman's Party, and Mrs. Robert Walker, of Baltimore, both pickets who were released from Occoquan on the President's "pardon," spoke; and Mrs. Shelton, a Washington attorney, told of the unlegal fight made by Superintendent Tweedale and Commissioner Brownlow to prevent her from having the briefest interview with the prisoners as their counsel.

"President Wilson never spoke a truer word," said Mrs. Walker, referring to one of the President's mildest encouragements, "when he said, 'The tide is rising to meet the moon.' The tide of pickets is breaking more and more strongly against the White House, and the moon is almost at the full."

Agitation for National Suffrage Spreads from East to West

THE fight for the federal amendment that the National Woman's Party is carrying out from coast to coast in the recess of Congress, centered this week in North and South Carolina, in Illinois and in Colorado.

In the South Miss Maud Younger and Mrs. Howard Gould, traveling in Mrs. Gould's car hung with Woman's Party colors, have blazed the trail for national suffrage in towns that have never before heard a suffrage speech and brought the Democratic failure in democracy for women straight home to the constituents of such Administration men as Majority Leader Claude Kitchin, Chairman Pou of the Rules Committee, and Chairman Webb of the Judiciary Committee that has always opposed the passage of the amendment.

Starting the North Carolina tour in Wilson on October 8, Miss Younger next spoke to a large audience in Rocky Mount, the most important town in Mr. Kitchin's district,—both these meetings sending urgent resolutions to the President for his support of the amendment. A meeting in the court house in Wilmington was followed by a stop in Raleigh, where one of the most remarkable suffrage gatherings in the state occurred. In the afternoon Miss Younger, Mrs. Gould and Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall, who arranged the North Carolina meetings, were received at the Capitol by Governor Bickett. In the evening a mass of over five hundred women and men stood for two hours to hear Mrs. Gould and Miss Younger speak at a street meeting. In the crowd that had gathered before the speakers' automobile drew up on the main street, were such men as the chief justice of the state, Walter Clark, Food Administrator Henry Page, and Lieutenant-Governor Max Gardner.

After stops for meetings in Greensboro and Winston-Salem that won strong interest for the federal amendment and many new members for the Party, Mrs. Gould and Miss Younger reached Shelby, Mr. Webb's home town and one that had never before heard the case for suffrage. The entire town came out to the meeting on October 13, arranged by Mr. Paul Webb, and Chairman Webb was himself present, paying close attention to what was said of the Democratic party's suffrage record and the barbarous conditions at Occoquan to which the Administration has lawlessly subjected women. The audience, urged to impress Mr. Webb with the truth that North Carolina favors suffrage, was eager with questions and still pressed around the suffrage car to find out how they could help when the speakers were leaving for the next stage of their journey.

The last meeting in the state, in Charlotte, arranged by Mrs. Arthur Taylor, state chairman of the Woman's Party, and Mrs. E. F. McGowan, brought the week to a successful close with a large audience stirred to the unanimous adopting of resolutions to be sent to President Wilson and the North Carolina men in Congress urging action on national suffrage.

IN Illinois, the state of many picket prisoners, Mrs. Lawrence Lewis and Miss Mabel Vernon, of the national executive committee of the Woman's Party, have quickened the already tremendous enthusiasm for national suffrage in their tour through the Middle West. Meetings in Chicago, Bloomington, Springfield, Peoria, and Galesburg have brought to the Woman's Party new supporters, money, and new understanding of the federal amendment fight by public opinion.

In Chicago on October 6 Mrs. Bertram Sippy, former state chairman, gave a dinner party at her fine home in honor of Mrs. Lewis and Miss Vernon, to meet the state executive board, the chairmen of state departments and the officers of congressional districts. Afterwards the large group of state and national workers conferred until late into the night, outlining plans for meetings in Illinois, and reviewing the work for the amendment in Washington. Mrs. Lewis and Miss Vernon, Mrs. Gilson Gardner and Miss Whittemore, Mrs. Watson and Miss Lucy Ewing, all released picket prisoners, and three of them Illinois women, reported the true story of the picketing persecution. Sara Bard Field and Jane Pincus, both fresh from Washington, also spoke. Elections for the state executive board were then made as follows: State chairman, Miss Ella Abeel; new vice-chairmen added to those already serving, Mrs. Bertram Sippy, Mrs. William Henkle, Miss Lucy Ewing, and Mrs. William Watson.

The next week a public luncheon was held at the LaSalle Hotel, largely attended by interested Chicago women. Mrs. Lewis at once made her position, in fighting for suffrage now, clear by saying: "I have two sons in the war, and I should consider that I was unpatriotic to sit around knitting, conserving food, watching the garbage cans, and making no effort for democracy. I consider that the most serious obstacle to the successful prosecution of the war is the fact that American women are not free. Every woman should rise up and demand that justice be done womankind in America."

The other speakers were Miss Mabel Vernon, Miss Lucy Ewing, and Mrs. Watson. When the two latter young women rose to speak, both so recently freed from prison, the whole audience sprang to its feet and applauded for many minutes. At one-thirty o'clock, just when, in Washington, Ruth Crocker, an Illinois girl, and five other pickets were being released from Occoquan, this resolution was telegraphed by over one hundred women voters to President Wilson: "The imprisonment of women for asking for political liberty must stop at once."

MISS ANNE MARTIN, vice-chairman of the Woman's Party, is finding in her tour through the voting states of the West, that only the straight message of the party for democracy here and now is needed to bring wide new support to the amendment as a war measure. To the women constituents of Mr. Keating and Mr. Taylor she has made it clear that women cannot be content with their representatives' standing for suffrage, that "standing" is not advancing, and that no congressman "stands" for one of his own measures, but deals and bargains and fights till he wins it. As a result of her meetings, letters, resolutions and telegrams are being concerted upon the Administration.

In Colorado Springs, the home town of Mrs. Bertha Fowler, state chairman; Mrs. Lillian Kerr, legislative chairman; and Dr. Caroline Spencer, secretary of the Colorado branch, at present under suspended sentence for picketing the White House, a luncheon at the Elks' Grill was so largely attended that numbers had to be turned away. An evening meeting, addressed by Miss Martin as well, responded with enthusiasm to her story of the Administration's attempt to shut down upon women's lawful appeals by turning the women over to Washington mobs, by giving them exaggerated sentences, by practicing cruelty in prison. In Pueblo, Miss Martin and Mrs. Kerr spoke in the ballroom of the Congress Hotel at a meeting arranged by Mrs. P. S. Brown and Mrs. Samuel Walker, Woman's Party officers in that district.

In Denver a lunch was given Miss Martin by the executive committee of the First Congressional District, and a most successful evening meeting was held in the Brown Palace Hotel, with Dr. Margaret Long presiding, and Mrs. Ida Kruse McFarlane introducing the speakers. Judge and Mrs. Ben Lindsey were in the representative audience, which on the motion of Dora Phelps Buell passed a resolution of protest to President Wilson against the cruelty of Occoquan to women whose only crime is love of liberty, and urging him to adopt the Susan B. Anthony amendment in his forthcoming message to Congress as the only means of ending women's agitation for suffrage.

MEANWHILE organizers preceding the speakers are spreading this agitation more and more thoroughly into every corner of the country. True news of the Woman's Party campaign and the lawless persecution of the pickets is for the first time flaming into the papers of every state for clear-thinking men and women to read. In the West meetings are this week being arranged by Iris Calderhead in Oregon, Alice Henkle in Washington, Hazel Hunkins in Montana, Jane Pincus in North Dakota, and Clara Louise Rowe in California. Ada James is in Wisconsin; Sarah Grant and Gertrude Hunter in Minnesota; Mrs. Nina Allender, SUFFRAGIST cartoonist, and Berta Crone in South Carolina; and Katherine Mullen in Georgia. Other organizers now at work on advance meetings in other states are Margery Ross, Margaret Whittemore, Natalie Gray, Elizabeth Stuyvesant, Gladice Greiner, Katherine Morey, Rebecca Hourwich, Joy Young, Vivian Pierce, and Mrs. Ella St. Clair Thompson.

National Advisory Council Conference

THE National Woman's Party is calling an Advisory Council Conference in Washington on December 6, 7, 8, and 9, to work out plans for the coming suffrage campaign in what promises to prove the most momentous sesison of Congress for suffrage in the history of the federal amendment.

To this conference the national executive committee of the Woman's Party summons the advisory council, the heads of departments, state chairmen and members of state committees, congressional district chairmen and members of district committees, county chairmen and members of county committees, and all other elected officers. These will make up the voting membership, but all members of the Woman's Party are urged to come to the conference as guests, and the program plans, though not yet complete, promise a brilliant four days at the national headquarters.

The conference will open on the evening of Thursday, December 6, with a reception given by the District of Columbia branch to all the guests of the conference.

On Friday there will be two business sessions. In the morning will be held a meeting for the members of the advisory council, at which Mrs. John Rogers, Jr., of New York, chairman of the council, will preside. The reports of the year's work will be made and new plans laid. It is expected that the council at this time will organize itself more fully for carrying out its work. The advisory council has grown into so strong a body, giving such valuable service to the party that a more definite organization is considered wise to map out the work it does. Arrangements will probably be made at this time for future meetings of the council.

In the afternoon a committee from the National Party, newly formed in Chicago by a union of Prohibitionists, Progressives, Socialists, and various independents in politics, will present to the conference the formal invitation of the new party to the National Woman's Party to join it for carrying on a campaign to elect fifty congressmen in 1918.

On Saturday there will be two business sessions. Saturday morning the state chairmen will meet—the first meeting the chairmen have ever held—which will give them new opportunities for comparing notes and co-ordinating the work in their branches. They will probably organize as a body, elect a chairman, and arrange for regular meetings. In the afternoon at a second business meeting, the conference will take up the proposal laid before it on Friday by the new National Party. In the evening a dinner will be given for all members of the Woman's Party in honor of the pickets who have served time in prison.

A great mass meeting is planned to close the conference on Sunday. One of the speakers at this meeting will be Mr. Dudley Field Malone, former Collector of the Port of New York, and now counsel for the picket prisoners. All the released pickets will be present.

This December conference will be the fourth advisory council conference in the history of the National Woman's Party. The first was the Newport conference of September, 1914, at which plans were laid to defeat forty-seven Democratic congressmen in voting states because they had opposed the suffrage amendment. The second was held in New York City in March, 1915, and heralded the spreading of the Congressional Union through the states in branches. The third, in Washington, April, 1916, sent the suffrage special into the West with Eastern women's appeal to women voters.

Prisoners of Freedom

Speech Made by Katharine Rolston Fisher at the Picket Dinner

FIVE of us who are with you tonight have recently come out from the workhouse into the world. A great change? Not so much of a change for women, disfranchised women. In prison or out, American women are not free. Loss of physical freedom simply gives us and the public a new and vivid sense of what our lack of political freedom really means.

Disfranchisement is the prison of woman's power and spirit. Women have long been classed with criminals so far as their voting rights are concerned. And how quick the Government is to live up to its classification the minute women determinedly insist upon these rights. Prison life epitomizes all life under undemocratic rule. At Occoquan, as at the Capitol and the White House, we faced hypocrisy, trickery and treachery on the part of those in power. And the constant appeal to us to "co-operate with the workhouse authorities," sounded wonderfully like the exhortation addressed to all women to "support the Government."

"Is that the law of the District of Columbia?" I asked Superintendent Whittaker concerning a statement he had made to me. "It is the law," he answered, "because it is the rule I make." The answer of Whittaker is the answer Wilson makes to women every time the Government, of which he is the head, enacts a law and at the same time continues to refuse to pass the Susan B. Anthony amendment.

IT has been well said by Anne Martin, "Every reform is a battle of ideas." The Woman's Party policy is winning because it puts ideas into action. Perhaps every reform movement tends at some time to become a battle of words. The suffrage movement has been in danger of becoming a battle of arguments and appeals on the one side, and on the other side, of sounding phrases and soothing speeches, such as, "I have come to fight with you," which died away after election into, "May I not hope?"

We seem today to stand before you free, but I have no sense of freedom, because I have left comrades at Occoquan and because other comrades may at any moment join them there. Not our comrades only, but our leaders. What one of us can think of Alice Paul, of Lucy Burns, as prisoners of the National Government, and not feel on her own body, and on her own spirit, the coarse prison clothing, the galling weight of prison rules?

While she and our other comrades are there, what is our freedom? It is as empty as the so-called political freedom of women who have won suffrage by a state referendum. Like them we are free only within limits.

Are we free to petition for our rights? To picket peacefully? To demand the power to protect other women? If we try to do these things we shall find ourselves again at Occoquan. We are free only to submit.

THE Government wishes to give us an indeterminate sentence in the workhouse of continual, uncomplaining work for suffrage. But this is soon to fall, like a modern bastile, before the onslaught of enlightened public opinion which is coming to our rescue.

But we must not simply wait for it. We must keep calling to cheer it on. Publicity plays the same part in prison as outside. While we were suppressed we could be oppressed. When we could let the public know the facts, the pressure let up. We must do these two things: let the people know and make them understand. When they understand, they are our allies.

We must not let our voice be drowned by war trumpets or cannon. If we should, we should find ourselves, when the war is over, with a peace that would only prolong our struggle, a democracy that would belie its name by leaving out half the people.

Comments of the Press

America First!

THERE should be some nice, gentlemanly way to stop the White House picketing by the misguided ladies who imagine they are helping the cause of equal suffrage, when, as a matter of fact, they are not.

There is only one manly way to stop the picketing, and that is to enfranchise the women at once as a war measure. Premier Asquith has already thrown his support to the bill in England, and President Wilson would not only stop the picketing at once by declaring in favor of a federal amendment for this measure, but would greatly strengthen the morale of the allies as a whole, and demoralize that of the German and Austrian armies, if he declared in favor of complete and immediate democracy here, as admirably and unequivocally as he served notice upon Germany that we intend to "make the world safe for democracy."

The elderly women of the suffrage movement are the chief deprecators of the picketing policy, but the younger women naturally are more demonstrative. *The New Republic* holds that those who counselled the arrest of the picketers, which the President disclaims responsibility for, have embarrassed the Administration far more than the orderly picketers. . . .

Banners may hurt suffrage with a Government that is not accountable to women as well as men, and which consequently does not represent American public opinion to the full, as yet. But they at least let our enemies—who are hostile to democracy—know that American women are sincere in their wish to make good our pretensions to democracy as a nation, and President Wilson can at any time add lustre to his stand in that direction and greatly hasten the enthusiasm for "democracy" as our battle cry at the front by following Premier Asquith's example, and declaring in favor of the earliest possible national enfranchisement of women.

Had not the President made "democracy" the slogan of the American wing of the allied armies, one might urge the sending of the banner bearers to Coventry, but that would certainly not help America, and it is to be doubted if it would not help suffrage by a whole lot more free advertising. "America First!" does not mean with the sword only, but also with the pen. Here is the President's opportunity to put America first in every way. Let us hope that he will not delay using this efficient means of ending the embarrassing and persistent picketing in which so many women of character and refinement have taken part.—*Harold Shafter Howard in Santa Barbara (Cal.) News.*

Morris in the New York Evening Mail, October 1

The Joy Ride

A Poor Year for Women

IT is told by several women, for whom we have great respect, that the Treasury Department's orders were: "Get out the Liberty bonds if it kills every woman in the place."

We don't know that Mr. McAdoo put it just that way; in fact, Mr. McAdoo in his career of recent years has convinced us that he is a pretty shrewd gentleman. But something was wrong in that department. And the wrong concerns the labor of women.

There are a few of our intelligent American women in prison in Virginia. They were imprisoned for the "hideous crime" of quoting Woodrow Wilson on banners which they carried through the streets of Washington, D. C.

The suffrage amendment may seem to have no connection with this unpleasant episode. But it has. Government clerks (men), who have friends at home, are not bothered by overtime hours.

This isn't a very good year for women, so far, except for those who have the honor of giving sons or husbands to the war.—*The Boston Journal, October 6.*

The Last Word on Suffrage

THE only thing left to say on the subject of woman suffrage is what the members of the Woman's Party have been saying in Washington. For we may be quite sure if it wasn't the only infuriatingly irrefutable thing left to say, the women who have so bravely said it wouldn't be made to pay for it with harrowing prison sentences in a barbarously conducted jail.

The suffrage pickets haven't been "arguing" about woman suffrage. They have simply been taking the only stand which any self-respecting and dignified woman today can take. In other words they have simply taken woman's right to the ballot for granted, acknowledged universally today as one of the inalienable principles of true democracy, and asked their government what it means by plunging their country into war, for the avowed purpose of winning for the world the very rights it is steadfastly refusing to give to half of its own citizens right here.

Today there isn't anything else to be said on the suffrage question but this. It is the last, the one utterly unanswerable word on the subject. And it is our firm conviction that if all the suffragists in the country had had the high courage and moral strength to unite on this stand, their victory would already be won.—*The New York Call, October 10.*

A Fundamental Matter

TURNING aside from questions of finance and other issues for the moment, Mr. Hillquit (candidate for mayor in New York City) lays hold of a more fundamental matter than any of these, the matter of the more complete democratization of our Government. It is excellently timed, but, more than that, it must remind even the doubtful of the part that women are increasingly playing in civic activities, even without the vote. How much more of a power they would at once become with the ballot in their hands!—*The New York Evening Post, October 11.*

The Man that Gives the Word

DID Congress initiate its war program? Did Congress act on its own volition in all the important transactions? Did Congress fulfill its duties as laid down in the constitution and according to long established precedent?

To all the questions an emphatic NO must be registered.

It has been a one-man power from the beginning.

As a plain matter of fact the President ruled and Congress registered his will. We repeat in all friendliness Mr. Wilson has been the most absolute dictator the nation has known.—*The Rocky Mountain News, October 8.*

Financial Report

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CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARD $300,000 FUND FOR SECURING THE PASSAGE OF THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

List of Contributions from October 2 Through October 12, 1917

Contributions made to National Headquarters:

Per Mrs. Kent's Committee:

Miss Ruth Crocker	$ 12.50

Per Mrs. Ella Morton Dean:

Mrs. F. C. Ehling	5.00
Miss Lucy Daniels	22.75
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Dr. Helen F. Perkins	1.00
Mrs. John W. Brannan	13.50
Mrs. William L. Colt	15.00
Membership Fees	2.25
Total collected by National Headquarters	$ 1,250.70
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	261,670.52
Total collected by National Headquarters through October 12, 1917	$262,921.22

Contributions made to Michigan Headquarters:

Mrs. C. R. Wilson	5.00
Miss Gertrude B. Hartz	1.50
Mr. E. J. Carleton	25.00
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Miss Helen W. Beck	5.00
Mr. Edmund C. Evans	5.00
Fifth Congressional Dist.	5.00
Miss Mary E. Bakewell	5.00
Collection—Hotel Adelphia	22.21
Miss Christine Doyle	1.00
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Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	38,189.48
Total collected by Branches through October 12, 1917	$ 38,608.74
Grand Total	$301,529.96
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Do Your Bit Out of Prison for "The Suffragist"

NOT every suffragist who stands for suffrage now can go to prison for her purpose, but every American woman can back up our front-line fighters in Occoquan by doing her bit of suffrage service in the woman's war for democracy.

The suffrage prisoners in Occoquan are glad to bear hardship to carry on the struggle to win the federal amendment from the Government. The least every suffragist out of prison can do is to help spread the story of this struggle among the thinking women and men of the nation. Will you help us do this?

THE SUFFRAGIST is the only magazine in this country that keeps its readers in touch with the federal suffrage situation in Washington and in the states. Will you get new readers for THE SUFFRAGIST? Will you see that your local library subscribes to THE SUFFRAGIST? Will you make the editors of your town newspapers read THE SUFFRAGIST and use its articles and editorials?

These are ways you can help. Every reader of THE SUFFRAGIST can do one or all of these things.

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